PROJECT REPORTS

THE ALIŞAR REGIONAL PROJECT

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Excavations at Çadır Höyük

Overview

The 2005 season at Çadır Höyük continued to explore the historical and cultural development of this large mound near the village of Peyniryemez in Central Turkey (fig. 1). Our efforts were aimed at resolving outstanding chronological problems, examining significant historical issues, and illuminating the diachronic relationship of the environment to settlement on the Anatolian plateau. Although this report refers primarily to activities that took place in 2005, it also contains references to the 2004 season for which we were unable to submit a report. Three periods are reported on in this issue — the Byzantine period, the Iron Age, and the Hittite/second-millennium era.

The Byzantine Settlement

Prior to the 2005 excavation season, we had established a date for the final phase of the Byzantine occupation of Çadır Höyük (IXa) that corresponded to the same period in which the Battle of Manzikert took place in Eastern Turkey (A.D. 1071). This assessment was primarily based on the evidence of coinage (cf. the 2003/2004 *Annual Report*, p. 20, fig. 10), but was augmented in 2004 by the discovery of a lead sealing belonging to Samuel Alusianos, a military commander under Romanus IV from ca. 1068 to 1071 (fig. 2). The seal was found in the easternmost room of Building A and may signify an administrative function for this room.¹

In 2005, we continued efforts on the citadel with projects to (1) clear Building B and (2) to gain a better understanding of the Byzantine chronology. Building B sits adjacent to Build-

ing A and appears to be similar in both size and style. While clearing Building B we also sliced off the eastern edge of the Byzantine settlement at the top of the eastern trench. This gave us a good view of what we can expect to encounter once we have cleared the Byzantine remains. What we found was that a significant Iron Age level preceded the Byzantines, but the amount of Hittite pottery coming from the excavation suggests that the Hittite levels are not far below. We will continue with both projects in 2006.

Most of our 2005 Byzantine efforts were directed towards the terrace which is becoming increasingly important because of the dovetailing architectural and ceramic evidence that links it with settlement on the cita-

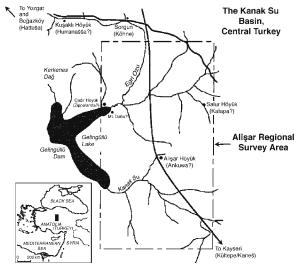


Figure 1. Map of the major sites (including Çadır Höyük) in the Kanak Su Basin

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Figure 2. Samuel Alusianos sealing: (left) obverse and (right) reverse

del. This project has made it increasingly clear that there was a long period of Byzantine occupation at Çadır. Moreover, it suggests that the prosperity of the site's Middle Byzantine levels (IXb and IXc) was severely affected by the Arab invasions of the eighth century. Although containing a large proportion of coarse ware, the earliest levels of this middle period also contained some fine ware ceramics, primarily African Red Slip ware that is badly made, coarser in fabric, and is clearly of local manufacture. More importantly, the state of this pottery suggests that the product is at the end of its lifespan. Knowing that the production of African

Red Slip ware died out around the beginning of the eighth century gives us a good indicator for dating these levels.

Excavators also identified an earlier level (IX d) that dates to the fifth or sixth century which contained substantially more African Red Slip fine ware (fig. 3). Keeping in mind that there is literally no fine ware from the later periods, this was an important discovery. One particularly spectacular piece, a stamped platter, looks like it may be true African Red Slip or one of the higher quality imitation wares from the coast. Additional work needs to be done in this level, however, before we can begin to understand how it fits into the overall flow of history at the site. Nonetheless, there are some things that are beginning to emerge from our study.

The combined evidence from the citadel and the terrace supports the theory that we are excavating part of a Byzantine *kastron*. Not much is known archaeologically about the *kastron* as few have been excavated. Our knowledge of the *kastron* comes primarily from texts which portray it as a symbolic representation of power in late Byzantine Anatolia. Every aspect of life radiated from the *kastron* during this period when it served as the administrative, economic, and social hub of the community. The *kastron* offered security for both humans and animals in time of threat, as well as provision for armies on the march. Because of its protective function, it was typically characterized by a fortified citadel that protected a walled lower city with a Byzantine garrison. It could, however, also be a smaller fortification, lookout, or tower that was manned by local guards. In addition, the *kastron* is also known to have been associated with monastic buildings or religious centers, one of the elements we believe to have existed at Çadır. The components of the literary description appear to fit the pattern of archaeological remains at Çadır Höyük quite precisely, and as we put them together, they are beginning to provide the physical evidence for how a *kastron* functioned in the eastern reaches of the Byzantine empire.



Figure 3. Imitation African Red Slip ware from Terrace Building I

The material remains are beginning to tell us a great deal about the relative prosperity of the site over the course of its existence. The earliest occupation levels reveal a community of some means, wealthy enough to possess substantial quantities of presumably imported fine ware and luxury items. Between the eighth and ninth centuries, however, a break apparently occurred in the prosperity of life on the Anatolian plateau. Whether this break can be attributed to the Arab invasions remains to be seen, though evidence

from other sites such as Amorium makes it seem likely. Regardless, by the eleventh century, the site displayed shoddy construction, had decreased in size, showed less prosperity, and probably existed under fairly constant threat.

The significance of Çadır Höyük lies in the fact that it provides a rare opportunity to diachronically trace the fortunes and coordinated activities of a Byzantine *kastron* settlement in the eastern portion of the Byzantine empire. In so doing, we should be able to trace not only the political fortunes of the site, but also to examine the evolution of a Byzantine subsistence pattern in this part of central Anatolia and to link it with the many generations of agriculturalists who, long before the rise of the Byzantines, toiled to make this place their home. We are reminded that in this effort, the Byzantine levels of Çadır Höyük are only part of a multi-tiered project designed to unlock the regional chronology for central Anatolia and illuminate events occurring in Anatolia and across the entire ancient Near East. The project is examining environmental and economic changes through time and relating these to wider changes in power and population in central Anatolia. With that injunction we now turn our attention briefly to the Iron Age before focusing in on the second millennium.

The Iron Age

Iron Age ceramics have been recovered from Çadır since our original 1993 survey. Until recently, however, only a minimum of Iron Age architectural remains have been uncovered intact. In 2003, excavations in squares 790.890 and 780.890 yielded a cache of Late Iron Age pottery, perhaps best exemplified by a beautiful uniquely painted vessel shown in the 2003/2004 *Annual Report*, p. 22. Below that cache, work in the 2004 season produced what appeared to be part of the Middle Iron Age wall and one pier of a gate system (fig. 4). The 2005 excavations proved even more interesting as it reached the Early Iron Age and perhaps the enigmatic "Dark Age" level that followed right on the heels of the Hittite empire period. Materials consist of pottery with a second-millennium feel and look, but with a variety of designs that are closer to the Iron Age than anything else. The pottery was found in association with a fascinating structure of unknown function (fig. 5). Since the structure is immediately below the Middle Iron Gate, it may be an Early Iron Age antecedent of the later Middle Iron Age gate.

The Iron Age structure, however, is unique in various ways and this may indicate an alternative interpretation. Besides the unusual pottery found in association with the structure, there are at least three round plaster surfaces that were apparently built in association with the building while a fourth plaster surface was found directly above the structure. Also of note is that the

area produced a large quantity of spindle whorls, so one has to wonder if there is some connection to the weaving industry. It also appears that the plaster served as a work surface for textiles and/or wool processing as there was a very large number of perforated disks, which were almost certainly spindle whorls, as well as several loom weights. A little metal hook also came from that area, perhaps for the hanging of spun wool skeins. It may be that this was an area for washing or laying out washed wool. Alternatively, it could have been an area for dyeing and spin-



Figure 4. Middle Iron Age wall and gate pier (right) with Late Iron Age wall stub (left)

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Figure 5. Early Iron Age building with plaster surfaces (right)

ning. Any one of those suggestions would explain the "water-proofed" nature of the plastered circles, which also seems to have been burned intentionally before plastering, to harden the earth.

As curious as this complex appears to be, there may be a narrow window into its function as a result of what we know from the preceding Hittite period. There is a curious passage in the Hittites laws (§50 and §51) that granted special status to the priests and weavers of Nerik, Arinna, and Zippalanda, making them exempt from the *luzzi* requirement. It may be that we have a relic of that situation still being manifested in the

remains of the "Dark Age" settlement where the weaver's craft was still being practiced in keeping with a tradition reflected in those earlier laws. If we keep in mind Harry Hoffner's tentative association of the weaving industry to the cult, we may even have a witness to the continued practice of the Zippalandan cult at Çadır Höyük after the end of the Hittite empire. We plan to further explore this fascinating complex during the 2006 season.

The Second-millennium Settlement

Our investigations of the second-millennium settlement at Çadır Höyük are beginning to contribute towards our understanding of how the Hittites rose to power and expanded their influence across central Anatolia. As a case in point, we now believe that we are in a position to identify Çadır's second-millennium settlement. As observed in *News & Notes*, no. 189, p. 22, we have tentatively equated Çadır Höyük with the Hittite cult site of Zippalanda, the center for the worship of the Stormgod of Zippalanda. In addition, there is evidence that the nearby mountain of Çaltepe is to be identified with Mount Daha, the "beloved mountain of the Stormgod of Zippalanda" (fig. 6).

The identification of Çadır Höyük with Zippalanda is grounded in our excavation results, but also takes into account geographic and topographical evidence found in textual descriptions of the town. In other words, the Hittite texts have provided us with a literary map of the settlement and the activities associated with it. These writings are detailed and fairly informative regarding events that took place there during the Hittite period and when juxtaposed against the archeological results, they offer an intriguing picture of the second-millennium settlement. While one always hopes to fill in the lacunae, this linkage has provided us with a productive way of linking the Hittite texts to Çadır's physical remains. The clearest indication of this is the evidence from Çaltepe that strongly points to that height as being one and the same with the Mt. Daha of Hittite texts. We will return to this discussion after briefly looking at other areas of Çadır Höyük that have produced evidence of the second-millennium settlement on the mound.

Excavations continued in the eastern trench during both the 2004 and 2005 seasons with the most significant work occurring in squares 800.920 and 800.910 (fig. 7). This effort is yielding a complex of rooms located on the edge of the settlement that may well be part of an early temple. Pit F 41 was found dug into the floor of one room and produced fascinating materials including an interesting knobbed pot (fig. 8), an inscribed bone inlay, and the bone mouthpiece of a flute. An

Old Hittite stamp seal was also found on the floor of one room, along with a small stone bull figurine which is almost identical to ones found at nearby Alişar (fig. 9).³ A step or bench was situated along the structure's exterior western wall on which a quantity of pottery had once rested. Broken vessels dated confidently to the early Old Hittite period (ca. 1700–1650 B.C.) were found strewn around the bench (fig. 10). This all suggests that the Old Hittite period was a significant and long lasting era at Cadir Höyük.

At the top of the eastern trench (above) we have now cut through the Byzantine ma-



Figure 6. Çaltepe (Mt. Daha?) and Çadır Höyük (Zippalanda?)

terials and into the earlier Hellenistic and Iron Age layers. This portion of the trench represents the highest point on the mound and directly faces Çaltepe which makes it an ideal position from which to view or direct activities taking place on the mountain (Daha) opposite it. From this vantage point, events in the city could easily be coordinated with those on the mountain, just as indicated in the Zippalanda texts. As such, it would represent the ideal position for a temple dedicated to the Stormgod of Zippalanda and the place where the Stormgod's image may well have stood. That image, as we know from the texts, would have been taken from the city to the mountain for specific activities during the visit of the Hittite king. On the basis of Popko's analysis of Zippalanda's topography in the Hittite texts, we believe that a temple dedicated to the Stormgod of Zippalanda lies on the highest part of the Hittite citadel and we fully expect to find remains of that structure not far below our present position. That being said, it is likely that slightly later cultic materials from the south slope (described in the 2003/2004 *Annual Report*, pp. 18–19) originated from the Middle Hittite period manifestation of this same cultic complex.

Çadır's North Slope (Area 6) presents another important piece of the puzzle related to Zippalanda. This was the site of a large monumental gate that was probably built during the Hittite empire period. The gate faced towards the Hittite capital and would have welcomed the Hittite king on his approach to the town. The 2005 excavations in this area proved to be very interesting. As we opened more of the gate area it became clear that the original entryway was at least 5 m

in width and that it had continued to stand, in some form, for several centuries after the fall of the Hittites. After an Early Iron narrowing of the passage (above) we uncovered a Late Iron casemate wall that blocked off the entire span of the original gate entrance. The western pier of the original gate is still unexcavated but where the eastern portion is cleared, one can see how the end of the Late Iron Age wall was built against the interior portion of the then-existing gate. The large blocks that once made up that side of the gate have now tumbled down the slope, perhaps in an earthquake or maybe by hostile activity, but the foundations of the smaller



Figure 7. Early Old Hittite rooms in square 800.920 showing Pit F 41



Figure 8. Knobbed pot from Pit F 41 in square 800.920

Late Iron Age wall remain intact. The three levels of the gate passage are clearly seen in photos of the gate (fig. 11). Things promise to get even more interesting. Since the structure is high on the slope, it must have been approached by steps or a ramp of some sort. A wide earthen ramp that can still be observed on the north side of the mound may have something to do with such an approach though it may also be a modern feature. It remains to more fully articulate this ramp's construction and function, both of which are goals for the 2006 season.

This brings us back to the height of Çaltepe where we undertook an informal investigation during the summer of 2005.

No excavations have taken place on Çaltepe, but observations made during those visits led us to believe that Çaltepe was to be associated with Mt. Daha, known from Hittite texts to have been an important height related to festivities associated with the Stormgod of Zippalanda's cult. Our knowledge about Zippalanda and Daha is derived from religious texts found in the Hittite capitol of Hattuša. What we found on Çaltepe perfectly fits the requirements of what we know about the Hittite holy mountain and provides the crucial link in our tentative identification of the mound and mountain with Zippalanda and Daha.

The texts tell us that Mt. Daha was situated very close to Zippalanda and Çaltepe is situated less than a kilometer away from Çadır Höyük. One can clearly see Çadır Höyük from Çaltepe and the height of Çaltepe is plainly visible from Çadır Höyük. This is significant in that the texts make it clear that the Hittite king is able to look down on Zippalanda from the spot of his activity as he bows to the city. It is also clear that the people in Zippalanda were able to see the activities on the mountain, including the raising of the KUŠKURŠA or holy hunting bag on top of Mt. Daha. In this respect, the proximity of Çaltepe to Çadır Höyük makes perfect sense and nicely fits the requirements of the texts. Taken by themselves, these facts make Çaltepe an obvious candidate for Mt. Daha, but there is more to consider.

Early Old Hittite Period

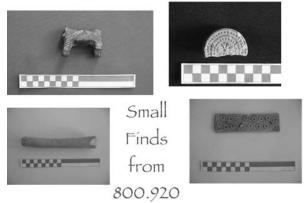


Figure 9. Small Finds from area 800.920: bull, Old Hittite seal, flute mouthpiece made of bone, and bone inlay with circles

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We know from KUB XLI 29 that there was a structure on Mt. Daha which served as a mountaintop counterpart of the temple in the city. This mountaintop edifice served as home to the Stormgod during his stay on the mountain for the various Hittite festivals. Texts also mention a gated-courtyard or what the Hittites called a *hilammar* building existing very close to the temple. It should not be surprising, then, that the two most striking architectural features to be found on Çaltepe (in fact the only ones that I know of) are a large 40×80 m walled-in space just below the summit and a gated-courtyard compound just east of the large building. The first of

the constructions is located just below the summit of the mountain and is oriented roughly east—west (fig. 12).

The construction on Çaltepe overlooks Çadır Höyük and is characterized by a large open area within its walls and a series of what appear to be storerooms along the structure's western extremity (fig. 13). The lower western portion of the enclosure rises steeply after about 20 m and settles into a rather level elevation for the last 60 m. I think that the former area must be a forecourt while the raised eastern area covers the remains of the temple or worship area.

What we believe to be the *hilammar* is located on the eastern side of Çaltepe-Daha. The

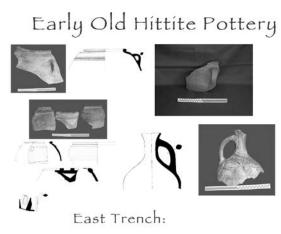


Figure 10. Old Hittite pottery from bench in 800.920

layout appears to consist of a multi-roomed area having a large walled courtyard with two gates. The rocky space between the gates was once a surfaced courtyard where the king stepped out of his coach and into a chariot he would use to depart from the mountain. It is probably not a coincidence that the two gates of the courtyard are oriented towards Alişar and direct traffic from the mountain towards Alişar (Ankuwa) and the main road south. The road from Çaltepe descends the gentle slope behind the mountain that leads through the present day village of Karahacılı. At some point along the way the road would have split with one fork continuing towards Alişar while the other splits off to Salur Höyük (Katapa) on the north slope of Çomak Dağ. Both settlements would have been reached in a relatively short period of time by the king's chariot as described in the Hittite texts (fig. 14).

Once the king had departed from the mountain, the Stormgod of Zippalanda's image was sent back to its primary temple in Zippalanda and a herald is sent to either Ankuwa or Katapa to inform the king of its safe return home. The king returns to the Capitol after completing his functions in those two towns via a more northerly route. In the meantime, Zippalanda and Daha begin to prepare for the next official state visit of the King.

Analyses, Final Observations, and Conclusions

Excavations in the Eastern Trench (Area 1) through 2005 clearly demonstrate the importance of Çadır's second-millennium sequence of settlement. The town was destroyed and rebuilt numerous times, just in the second millennium alone. This continual cycle of destruction and immediate rebuilding argues for a community of some significance in that the local population could not or would not let the site fall into disuse or abandonment. Something compelled them to rebuild it time after time after time. I believe that the thing that compelled them was

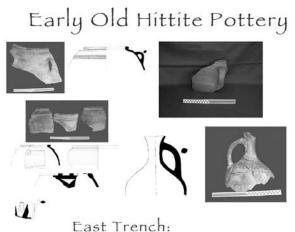


Figure 11. Three phases of the monumantal gate on North Slope

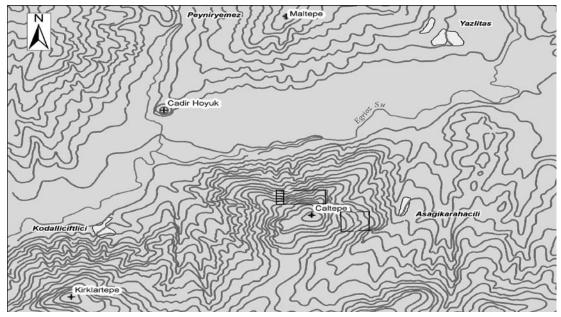


Figure 12. Topographical map showing positions of Çadır Höyük and buildings on Çaltepe (not drawn to scale)

a long-standing religious significance that characterized the site from the Chalcolithic through the Byzantine periods.

We are especially cognizant of Çadır Höyük's cultic role during the second millennium when we believe the site functioned as a major exponent of the Hittite cult. The emergence of Çadır Höyük as an important Hittite site, and its association with the important city of Zippalanda, calls for a reexamination of current ideas concerning history and geography in the Kanak Su Basin. What we uncover at this site in the coming years is bound to transform our understanding of that site, along with the history and geography of central Anatolia in the second millennium.

In the meantime, we continue to investigate Çadır as a whole, hopeful of bringing a consistent overall unity to the mound's constituent parts. While events related to the rise and fall of the Hittite state are vitally important, I believe they are even more significant as part of a historical process that extended from the Chalcolithic period through the Byzantine period, and which also brought the second-millennium Hittite settlement to a prominence that extended beyond the local Kanak Su valley. The association of Çadır Höyük with Zippalanda is certain to provide a new



Figure 13. Position of Stormgod's temple overlooking Çadir Höyük

and useful paradigm for understanding the problematic history and geography of central Anatolia. In this light, no matter how correct or how interesting such an identification may be, we are reminded that it only represents one piece in the more complex puzzle of how cultural entities arose in central Anatolia, how they maintained themselves, and ultimately, how and why they changed. Understanding the high degree of interconnectedness between the evidence from all these levels is critical in coming to a fuller understanding of, not only Çadır Höyük-

Zippalanda's role in Hittite Anatolia, but the place Çadır Höyük occupied in the entirety of central Anatolian history.

Acknowledgments

The excavation team once again enjoyed hospitable surrounding at our excavation house in the village of Peyniryemez, and the project was sustained during this period by workers from Peyniryemez who made up an excellent field team. The project also profited greatly from the expertise and tireless efforts of our Turkish government representatives during this two-year span. The representatives included Mr. Dursun Çalar (2004) and Mr. Ismail Sarıpınar (2005). We



Figure 14. View of Çaltepe (Mt. Daha) from Çadır showing positions of Hilammar, Temple Complex, Cult Niche, and possible route of Hittite king and queen during festivals

also work closely with the projects at Boğazköy and Kerkenes Dağ in a unique archaeological neighborhood of related interests and I am grateful to the directors of those projects Jurgen Seeher (at Boğazköy), along with Geoff and Françoise Summers, and Assistant Director Scott Branting (at Kerkenes), for their help and support in the field.

Members of the excavation team from 2004 to 2005 included Ronald Gorny (Director), Gregory McMahon (Associate Director), Sharon Steadman (Field Director), Samuel Paley (Assistant Director), Carol Schneider (Byzantinist and House Manager), and Bruce Verhaaren (Regional Survey Director). Excavators and specialists included Chad Bouffard, James Carlson (Lithics), Marica Cassis (Byzantinist), Amy Chang, Rob Cochrane, Tim Fortin, Claudia Glatz (Hittite Ceramics), Peter Graves (Iron Age Ceramic Project), Sarah Jones, Lisa Kealhofer (Iron Age Ceramic Project), Mary Jean Hughes, Amy Lloyd, Juliana McKittrick, Megan McMahon, Janet Meiss, Emilee Novak, Holly Oyster, Jenni Ross, Katie Ross, Aaron Smith, Alexia Smith (Paleobotanist), Gail Thompson, and Yukiko Tonoike.

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- 1. A parallel for this seal exists in *Das byzantinishe Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk*, by Werner Seibt and Marie Luise Zarnitz (Vienna, 1997), number 3.1.9. The inscription reads: "Theotokos help Samuel, Proedros and Dux of Alusianos." For other seals of this type, see *Byzantine Lead Seals*, by G. Zacos and A. Veglery (Basel, 1972).
- 2. See Harry A. Hoffner, The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition (Leiden, 1997), p. 192.
- 3. I believe that a bull figurine found in lower portions of the Old Hittite temple confines is significant. Since the Stormgod of Zippalanda is probably worshipped in the form of a bull, the bull figurine most likely represents the Stormgod of Zippalanda. The fact that an almost exact parallel was found at nearby Alişar physically suggests that the same cult is represented in both sites and since we know from the texts that the Stormgod of Zippalanda was also worshipped at Ankuwa

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(Alişar), it provides tangible evidence for what the texts already attest to, the worship of the Stormgod of Zippalanda in both Zippalanda and Ankuwa.

4. The placement of the Temple of the Stormgod of Zippalanda is of some interest. We are looking for the Temple of the Stormgod of Zippalanda to be located on the eastern height of the mound as it is not only appropriate as the highest point on the site, not to mention its orientation towards Çaltepe, but because the Hittite text describes the situation of the temple as above (šer) while the palace is said to be below (kattan). While we have interpreted this to indicate the temple was located on the citadel and the palace on the terrace or at the base of the mound, it is entirely possible that the palace could be on the lowest part of the citadel. Because the surface of Cadır's citadel is somewhat higher on its eastern side than on the western side, the mound's topography might well fit the description in the texts with the temple approached on the higher eastern side through a series of terraces from the palace situated on the lower western side of the citadel. We can envision a situation where the citadel is enclosed with a temenos wall but which also has interior courts with the upper level of the citadel separated from the lower level by at least two courtyards. This arrangement is not unlike the situation found on the citadel of Büyükkale in Hattuša where the upper part of the fortress is divided into three sections by intervening courtyards (Büyükkale, die Bauwerke, by Peter Neve [Berlin, 1982]). In fact, the Zippalanda texts seem to indicate just such an arrangement where in the fall and spring festival the texts indicate that there is an inner court of some sort where the palwatalla man stands which is separated by steps from another, presumably higher court into which the priest steps (Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien, by Maciej Popko [Heidelberg, 1994], 167). If this is the case, we may expect to find several courtyard levels on top of Çadır's Hittite citadel.